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AUTHOR Geschwender, Barbara N.; Geschwender, James A.
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ABSTRACT

An analysis of the participation of Southern black college students in the civil rights movement is presented. Data analyses are carried out to determine possible relationships between varying patterns of relative deprivation (as measured by Cantril's Self-Anchoring Striving Scale) and passive, active or combative types of participation. The findings show that not all patterns of relative deprivation are associated with participation. For example, aspirational deprivation (defined as a gap between achievement and ideal life situation) is associated with participation only when defined in group terms, while progressive deprivation (defined as the perception of substantial past progress but little or no future progress) is not associated with any of the participation indices. The strongest relationship between participation and the various patterns of relative deprivation occurs with the combative index. It is concluded that, because many factors must be considered in analyzing mass movements (e.g., extent of participation), a typology of activities should be constructed. (Author/TL)

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RELATIVE DEPRIVATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT*

BARBARA N. GESCHWENDER
(Binghamton, N. Y.)

AND

JAMES A. GESCHWENDER
SUNY-BINGHAMTON

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RELATIVE DEPRIVATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The civil rights movement became a mass movement in the mid-1950's and dominated much attention until the mid-1960's. It is a phenomenon of considerable sociological, as well as human, interest. It presents two major sociological problems: the explanation of the origins of the movement and the explanation of individual participation in it. It is likely that the former problem requires a structural answer, while the latter requires a social psychological one. It is also probable that a different social psychological answer is required for the explanation of white and black participation. The present paper is only concerned with the latter problem: what accounts for differences in degree and type of black participation in the civil rights movement.

RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

Gurr (1970:24) defines the concept of relative deprivation as "actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities."[1] Value expectations refer to the goods and conditions of life to which one feels rightfully entitled, and value capabilities refer to the goods and conditions of life that one feels capable of getting and keeping. This discrepancy between expectations and capabilities may be produced in different ways. The aim of this paper is to identify several patterns that may have contributed to the development of the civil rights movement and to test their relative usefulness in predicting differential participation.

Progressive Deprivation

"Progressive deprivation" is one of several patterns of disequilibrium that may be present in societies (Gurr, 1970:52-58). Long-run improvement in the value positions of individuals generates expectations of continued

improvement. Progressive deprivation results from the stabilization or decline of value capabilities after such a period of improvement. This pattern of disequilibrium is similar to Davies' J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfactions (1969:690).

Murphy and Watson (1969) indicate that perceived blockage of legitimate aspirations is an essential component in this development. They suggest that high aspirations are not sufficient to predict support for violence.

> ...the supporters of violence are those who have accepted the cultural definitions of success in the society, made some gains in achieving these goals, but perceive that the gap between their aspirations and achievements can not be closed because of structural and institutional restrictions. The sense of frustration which results from the comparison between what one wants and has been invited to expect and what one currently enjoys leads to militancy and violence (Murphy and Watson, 1969:2).

Several other researchers cite hopes generated by society beyond the capacity of the society to meet them as an explanation of participation in the civil rights movement (see Meier and Rudwick, 1968; Mack, 1968; Vander Zanden, 1969).

Berkowitz (1968) indicates that this gap between aspirations and achievements can be created either in the manner suggested by Davies or may simply result from the fact that very rapid socio-economic improvements may produce more hopes and expectations than can be fulfilled. "Hope outstrips reality, even though conditions are rapidly improving for the society as a whole, and many of the people in the society are frustrated (Berkowitz, 1968: 45)."

Reference Group Deprivation

The deprivation that derives from reference group comparisons focuses on the gap that exists between what one has and what others have. If the individual's reference group is perceived as being as deprived as oneself, the individual is apt to be content with his lot; if it is more successful,

he may develop feelings of deprivation. This pattern of relative deprivation is not totally separable from the progressive deprivation pattern. Perceived gains of reference groups, along with sense of past improvement, may produce rising expectations (see Gurr, 1970:Ch.4).

During the 1960's blacks have been assumed to evaluate their own and their group's position in relation to the more privileged white segments of society. Middle class blacks may see themselves better off relative to their own group but may feel that they lag behind their white peers and feel relatively deprived with respect to the latter comparison (see Searles and Williams, 1962). Matthews and Prothro (1969) found that black college students perceiving better race relations in their home town than in the south, and those ranking the south low in quality of race relations, were the most active protestors. Thus, activists felt relatively fortunate when comparing their lot to that of other blacks in the south but less well off when using the broader standard of race relations in the larger world.

An alternate interpretation might suggest that blacks experiencing relatively good race relations in their home town may develop high aspirations regarding race relations in the larger world. The frustration of these aspirations yields more discontent than would have occurred without initially high aspirations. Thus, it may be the case that either a reference group or a progressive deprivation interpretation may be utilized with the same data. Alternately, it may be the case that both processes operate simultaneously.

METHODOLOGY

Independent Variables

Cantril's Self-Anchoring Striving Scale (SASS) permits gathering data which may be used to test hypotheses involving either notion of relative deprivation. This instrument is designed to tap the unique reality world

of an individual to learn what it has in common with that of others and enables comparisons between reality worlds of different individuals, groups and societies.

> A person is asked to define on the basis of his own assumptions, perceptions, goals and values the two extremes or anchoring points of the spectrum on which some scale measurement is desired--for example, he may be asked to define the "top" and "bottom," the "good" and "bad," the "best" and "worst." This self-defined continuum is then used as our measuring device (Cantril, 1965:22).

The top anchoring point represents the personal wishes and hopes that constitute his conception of the best possible life. At the other end are the fears and frustrations that are part of the worst possible life he can imagine for himself.

> Then utilizing a nonverbal ladder device, symbolic of "the ladder of life," he is asked where he thinks he stands on the ladder today, with the top being the best life as he has defined it, the bottom the worst life as he has defined it. He is also asked where he thinks he stood in the past and where he thinks he will stand in the future (Cantril, 1965:22).

It is possible to rank collectivities as well as individuals. Cantril asked respondents to place their country in terms of present, past and future standings on the ladder.

Individual responses to the SASS (ladder rungs numbered 0 to 10) will serve as the independent variables of this study. Individuals are asked to rank themselves, whites as a group, and blacks as a group using the same definition of the best possible and worst possible life. These rankings are done for the present, five years in the past, and five years in the future. Fourteen SASS scores are divided into three broad categories of status scores, change scores, and comparison scores.

Status scores measure the distance between the rung the individual/group occupies on the SASS ladder and the top of the ladder as perceived at

present and in the future. They measure the gap between achievement and ideal life situation and will be used to test Hypothesis I regarding the effect of deprivation relative to aspirations. These scores are utilized as four measures: personal present, personal future, black present and black future.

Change scores are constructed by comparing present with past and future rankings. This provides an index of change in the gap between achievement and ideal life situation experienced in the past and anticipated for the future. Change scores will be used to test Hypothesis II regarding the effect of progressive deprivation. Change indices are constructed for personal past change, personal future change, black past change and black future change.

Comparison scores are constructed to measure the gap (or distance) between rungs occupied on the SASS ladder by self and significant reference groups or between blacks and whites. They will be used to test Hypothesis III regarding the effect of reference group deprivation. Six indices are constructed: differences between present rankings of blacks and self, whites and self, blacks and whites and differences in future rankings of blacks and self, whites and self, blacks and whites.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables are made up from the following 12 activities conducted by the civil rights movement:

Honoring a boycott or a picket line.

Financial contributions to civil rights group(s).

Menbership in civil rights group(s).

Token picketing (calling public attention to unsatisfactory policies but not interfering with the normal conduct of business).

Mass picketing (picketing in such large numbers or in such a manner as to interfere with the normal conduct of business).

Hits-and-runs (attempts to gain service but leaving when refused).

Sit-ins (attempts to gain service but not leaving when refused).

Street demonstrations, protest marches, and parades.

Lodging, or co-operating in the lodging of, court suits.

Voter registration drives.

Blocking the streets by sitting in them.

Lying down in front of vehicles, trucks, construction vehicles, etc. to interfere with their normal operations.

This sample of activities does not include the use of violence, as violence per se was not characteristic of the civil rights movement of the early and middle 1960's.

Various methods of scoring participation have been used. Some researchers have compared individuals who indicated any protest participation and those who indicated none (see Orum and Orum, 1968). Others have compared individuals who engaged in more militant and less militant activities (Matthews and Prothro, 1966). Finally, researchers have compared participants engaged in one specific type activity (Pinard et al, 1969). Findings were not always consistent. Thus, this study will utilize measures of both degree and type of involvement.

The 12 activities were used to develop four participation indices labeled Passive, Active, Combative and Total. A combination of logical and empirical considerations determined activity placement. Logical consideration provided the starting point and some guidelines and statistical measures determined final placement.

The civil rights movement incorporated several sub-movements which have

gravitated toward different kinds of tactics (see Wehr, 1968). It is also likely that there are differences among individuals who engage in sideline activities and those who perform center stage. Trial combinations of indices were developed based upon these assumptions. The Passive index initially included "spectator" kinds of activities such as honoring a picket line, making a financial contribution, or joining a civil rights group. "Typical" nonviolent protest activities (token picketing, protest marches, hit-and-runs, court suits and voter registration drives) were initially incorporated into the Active index. The Combative index originally included the more gladitorial activities: mass picketing, sit-ins, blocking streets and impeding vehicles. The Total index is the total number of participations and thus combines the other three indices.

Table 1 presents the matrix of associations among individual activities. These Gammas provided the base reference points in drawing up seven trial combinations of indices using variations upon the original Passive-Active-Combative classification system. Table 2 reports the Gammas associated with these seven trial combinations. It is clear that the original combination (F) was not the best empirical cluster of activities. The best grand average Gamma is achieved by combination A. The average Gamma for the Passive and Active indices (.599 and .699, respectively) indicate a moderate to high degree of interrelatedness of the included items, but they rank below the average Gamma of the Combative index (.853). In all the trial combinations the average index Gammas are higher than .480 and the decision as to which was the best combination was based solely on the best grand average Gamma.

This particular grouping of items in combination A is not as logically neat as originally anticipated but is compatible with the rationale

Table 1. Gamma Measures of Association Among Activities

Activity[a]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1												
2	.249											
3	.429	.686										
4	.616	.008	.491									
5	.656	.034	.473	.750								
6	.633	-.093	.367	.740	.902							
7	.366	.298	.323	.400	-.025	.173						
8	.587	.346	.462	.870	.685	.478	.258					
9	.700	.691	.881	.848	.766	.648	.778	.824				
10	.304	.557	.515	.408	-.059	.137	.448	.618	.398			
11	.461	-.692	-.333	.762	.745	.536	.853	.356	.673	.271		
12	.143	-.456	.007	.565	-.537	.238	.714	.619	.823	1.00	1.00	

[a] 1, Honor picket line; 2, Contributions; 3, Membership; 4, Token picketing; 5, Mass picketing; 6, Protest marches; 7, Hit-and-runs; 8, Sit-ins; 9, Court suits; 10, Voter registration drives; 11, Blocking streets; 12, Impeding vehicles.

Table 2. Trial Participation Indices

Combination	Individual Activity and Corresponding Gamma[a]	Index Avg.[b]	Grand Avg.[c]
A: Passive	2(.653), 3(.610), 10(.533)	.599	
Active	1(.577), 4(.750), 5(.812), 6(.707), 8(.650)	.699	.725
Combative	7(.779), 9(.745), 11(.939), 12(.949)	.853	
B: Passive	1(.336), 2(.567), 3(.599), 10(.490)	.506	
Active	4(.794), 5(.839), 6(.751), 8(.665)	.762	.707
Combative	7(.779), 9(.745), 11(.939), 12(.949)	.853	
C: Passive	2(.653), 3(.610), 10(.533)	.599	
Active	1(.584), 4(.684), 5(.815), 6(.766)	.712	.682
Combative	7(.465), 8(.461), 9(.823), 11(.880), 12(.907)	.707	
D: Passive	2(.653), 3(.610), 10(.533)	.599	
Active	1(.594), 4(.705), 5(.761), 6(.730), 7(.276)	.613	.673
Combative	8(.747), 9(.796), 11(.727), 12(.940)	.802	
E: Passive	1(.336), 2(.567), 3(.599), 10(.490)	.506	
Active	4(.722), 5(.857), 6(.843)	.807	.665
Combative	7(.465), 8(.461), 9(.823), 11(.880), 12(.907)	.707	
F: Passive	1(.346), 2(.518), 3(.597)	.487	
Active	4(.732), 6(.403), 7(.474), 9(.809), 10(.312)	.546	.605
Combative	5(.684), 8(.648), 11(.849), 12(.885)	.766	
G: Passive	1(.577), 2(.345), 3(.582), 4(.570), 6(.416)		
Active	10(.428)	.486	
Active-Combative	5(.528), 7(.242), 8(.619), 9(.867), 11(.844) 12(.819)	.653	.570

[a] The numbers in parantheses are Gammas that report the association of the individual activity to the participation index in which it is included, with the effect of that individual activity removed. For example, in combination A the Passive index consists of items 2, 3 and 10. The Gamma reported by activity 2 is the relation of activity 2 to the combination of activities 3 and 10 (Passive index minus activity 2).
The numbers outside the parantheses refer to the individual activities:
1, Honor picket line; 2, Contributions; 3, Membership; 4, Token picketing; 5, Mass picketing; 6, Protest marches; 7, Hit-and-runs; 8, Sit-ins; 9, Court suits; 10, Voter registration drives; 11, Blocking streets; 12, Impeding vehicles.

[b] Computed using only the individual activities--and their corresponding Gammas--included in the particular index.

[c] Computed using the individual activities -- and their corresponding Gammas--for all three indices.

underlying a breakdown of activities into a Passive-Active-Combative classification. Of the Passive index only activity 10 (participation in voter registration drives) is not on face characteristics a sidelines activity. Fifty-four per cent of the sample reported participation in this activity, which is the second highest participation rate achieved by any activity. As suggested below, this high participation rate implies a spectator kind of behavior.

Voter registration drives, membership and financial contributions are activities that require minimal contact with whites. They may take place in a primarily black context and thus may differ in meaning to the participant from either Active or Combative activities. Honoring a picket line (originally placed in the Passive index) may involve an element of black-white confrontation and thus may logically, as well as empirically, belong in the Active index. Final placement between Active and Combative indices was made on empirical grounds. However, with the exception of sit-ins it does appear that activities included within the Active index have less of an element of direct combat with whites than do activities included within the Combative index.[2]

Two further checks of logical validity were made before finalizing the decision to use Combination A. Milbrath (1965:16-30) suggests that a list of conventional political activities forms a hierarchy from behaviors most often to those least often performed. Participation on items in the hierarchy is also cumulative. Those who engage in "topmost" behaviors are likely to perform behaviors lower in rank, but those engaging in low ranking behaviors are unlikely to participate in high ranking ones. This may be generalized to apply to unconventional behaviors. Table 3 presents the percentage participating in each activity and mean number of other participations reported.

Table 3. Participation Rate and Mean Number Other Participations by Activity

Activity	Percent Participating	Mean Other Participations
1, Honor picket line	43	4.09
2, Contributions	72	3.04
3, Membership	50	3.86
4, Token picketing	22	5.30
5, Mass picketing	23	4.91
6, Protest marches	38	4.19
7, Hit-and-runs	15	4.55
8, Sit-ins	19	5.34
9, Court suits	9	6.71
10, Voter registration drives	54	3.55
11, Blocking streets	2	6.00
12, Impeding vehicles	1	6.50

Total N, 149

Passive index: Activities 2, 3, 10
Active index: Activities 1, 4, 5, 6, 8
Combative index: Activities 7, 9, 11, 12

The indices of combination A form a perfect hierarchy. The percentage participating in the activities of the Passive index are 72, 50, and 54, respectively. These are the three highest participation rates. Participation rates for the Active index are 43, 22, 23, 38 and 19, respectively. The Combative index provides the lowest participation rates (15, 9, 2 and 1 per cent, respectively). An examination of the last column in Table 3 reveals that all items included within the Combative index score a higher mean number of other participations than any of the items included within the Passive index. Two activities (items 7 and 8) spoil a perfect rank order between items of the Active and Combative indices.

Finally, the interrelationship of participation indices was examined and is reported in Table 4. The low to moderate inter-index Gammas suggests that the indices measure different, but related, participation dimensions. This provides support for the belief that the use of separate indices will yield information that could not be gained from a simple analysis of total number of participations.

Sample

The data were collected in the summer of 1964. A 100 per cent sample of students in sociology classes at all-black Florida A & M University responded to a questionnaire eliciting their attitudes toward, and participation in, the civil rights movement (n=149). The Self-Anchoring Striving Scale was also administered eliciting rankings of self, blacks and whites at three points in time.[3]

Development of Hypotheses

Hypotheses are developed separately for status, change and comparison scores.

Status Scores

Table 4. Gamma Measures of Inter-Index Associations

Passive x Active	.298
Passive x Combative	.386
Active x Combative	.407
Passive x Total[a]	.310
Active x Total[b]	.179
Combative x Total[c]	.435

[a]Active plus Combative

[b]Passive plus Combative

[c]Passive plus Active

Several studies of the student civil rights movement have shown participants to have generally higher socio-economic backgrounds than nonparticipants (Orbell,1967; Searles and Williams, 1962; Matthews and Prothro, 1966:Ch. 14). Wehr (1968) reports that his sample of black college students (94 per cent of whom had participated in the movement in some way) largely came from the middle and upper class elements of the southern black community and that they were hopeful of their own personal future and of achieving higher social status within American society. Thus, it is to be expected that a small gap between achievement and aspirations will be associated with activism.

It does not follow, however, that higher levels of activism will be found among those who perceive blacks as experiencing a small discrepancy gap relative to an ideal life situation. Orbell (1967) concludes that perception of group deprivation, but not individual deprivation, was associated with high levels of protest.

> ...there is a marked association between protest and feelings about the general position of the whole Negro race: among students who recorded "high" on a measure of satisfaction with the present racial situation 28 per cent were participants; among those recording "low" 52 per cent were participants (Orbell, 1967:55-56).

For the purposes of Hypothesis I, relative deprivation is operationally defined as the gap between respondent's ranking at present (anticipated in the future) and his aspirations. SASS status scores as measures of relative deprivation are similarly used by Gurr (1970:64-65), Crawford and Naditch (1970:210) and Bowen et al (1968:192).

Hypotheses specifying relationships between SASS scores and participation are presented below. In the presentation of hypotheses and the discussion of findings the terms "status score" and "discrepancy gap" will both be used. It must be kept in mind that these are inversely related. Persons

with a high status score have a small discrepancy gap, and persons with a low status score have a large discrepancy gap. The hypotheses will be tested utilizing Gamma to measure strength of relationship between SASS scores and participation and t-tests will be used to test the significance of difference in mean number of participations within indices. Significance of Gamma will be tested by a formula for z presented by Freeman (1965:170-72).

Hypothesis IA: There will be a positive association between participation and personal status scores for both present and future.

Hypothesis IB: There will be a negative association between participation and black status scores for both present and future.

Change Scores

The progressive deprivation hypothesis includes two elements: the "rising expectations" notion discussed by Berkowitz and "perception of blockage" discussed by Murphy and Watson (see above). In the hypotheses that follow they will be separately analyzed. Past improvements stimulate the development of high aspirations for the future. Development of aspirations may outstrip actual rate of improvement and cause dissatisfaction. Thus, the rising expectations component of the progressive deprivation hypothesis should be revealed in perception of past progress. Cataldo and Kellstadt (1968:89-90) found that sense of personal progress (as measured by the SASS) was positively related to propensity to join in street demonstrations and to riot if necessary to get public officials to correct political wrongs. SASS scores do not permit direct tests of all steps involved in this hypothesis. They do permit testing the relation between the end points; namely, that individuals who sense greater personal (black) past gain will have higher levels of participation.

The blocked aspirations component of the progressive deprivation hypothesis has its impact after the development of rising expectations and should reveal itself in pessimism regarding future progress. Discontent derives from comparing aspirations with the expectation that they will not be fulfilled. Von Eschen et al (1969:312-14) found the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations to be related to both early joining and intensity of activity in a sit-in movement.

Unfortunately, sample size prevented the control by level of status in analyzing perception of past and future change. Obviously, those respondents who record past status as high cannot be expected to perceive either much past or future progress. In fact, only seven respondents record personal past status as high (ladder steps 8-10) and 10 respondents record black past status as high.

Hypothesis IIA: There will be a positive association between participation and perception of past progress for both blacks and self.

Hypothesis IIB: There will be a negative association between participation and anticipated future progress for both blacks and self.

Comparison Scores

Speculation about the relationship of black protest participation and reference group comparisons has been along the lines that protestors see themselves as better off than blacks and worse off than whites (see Matthews and Prothro, 1966:424; and Searles and Williams, 1962:216). A logical extension of this reasoning predicts higher participation rates for individuals who perceive whites as better off than blacks.

Hypothesis IIIA: There will be a negative association between participation and comparison indices (black minus self scores) for present and future.

Hypothesis IIIB: There will be a positive association between participation and comparison indices (white minus self scores) for present and future.

Hypothesis IIIC: There will be a positive association between participation and comparison indices (white minus black scores) for present and future.

FINDINGS

Table 5 reports Gamma measures of association between the independent variables and participation on each of the four indices. Hypothesis IA is rejected as neither present nor future personal SASS scores are significantly related to participation on any of the indices. Hypothesis IB is supported differentially for the two temporal dimensions. All four Gammas relating black present scores to participation are in the predicted direction but only those for the Combative and Total indices are significant. All four Gammas relating black future SASS scores to participation are in the predicted direction and are statistically significant. However, only the Gamma for the Combative index indicates a moderately strong relationship. It would appear that participation is not related to perception of either present or anticipated future discrepancies between personal achievement and aspirations. However, participation in Combative-type activities is related to perception of current large discrepancies between black achievement and aspirations for blacks. Large discrepancies between expected black future achievements and aspirations are related to participation on all four indices.

Hypothesis IIA is rejected as none of the Gammas relating participation to either personal past change or black past change SASS scores are statistically significant. Hypothesis IIB receives little empirical support. None of the Gammas relating participation to expected black future change are significant, and expected personal future change is only significantly related to participation in Passive-type activities. It would appear that

Table 5. Association Between SASS Scores and Participation for Each Participation Index

SASS SCORE	Passive Index	Active Index	Combative Index	Total Index	N
Personal Present:	-.078[a]	-.058	.013	-.069	149
Personal Future:	-.197	.113	-.018	.009	147[b]
Black Present:	-.121	-.161	-.308 (1.68)	-.185 (1.87)	149
Black Future:	-.201 (1.64)	-.195 (1.69)	-.497 (3.08)	-.257 (2.48)	149
Personal Past Change:	-.034	-.023	.231	.026	149
Black Past Change:	-.105	-.088	-.370	-.128	149
Personal Future Change:	-.205 (1.90)	.053	-.112	-.064	147
Black Future Change:	.061	-.041	-.092	-.010	149
Black Present-Personal Present:	-.181 (1.80)	-.117	-.315 (1.94)	-.172 (1.99)	149
Black Future-Personal Future:	.024	-.153	-.272 (1.79)	-.126	147
White Present-Personal Present:	-.009	.000	-.204	-.026	148
White Future-Personal Future:	.092	.020	-.047	-.008	146
White Present-Black Present:	.081	.027	-.021	.060	148
White Future-Black Future:	.101	.112	.162	.121	148

[a]Gamma Measures of Association, computed on detailed breakdown of actual number of participations; z-scores reported in parantheses when significant at .05 level or beyond.

[b]Deviations from sample size (149) due to no responses on some items.

civil rights participation is unrelated to perceptions of past change for either self or blacks and is unrelated to expectations for black future change. Pessimism over future personal prospects is significantly related only to participation in Passive index protest.

Hypothesis IIIA is differentially supported for both the two temporal dimensions and the four indices. All four Gammas relating black and personal present SASS scores are in the predicted direction and all except that for the Active index are statistically significant. Three of the four Gammas relating black and personal future scores are in the predicted direction but only the Gamma for the Combative index is statistically significant. The Combative index also provides the strongest relationship for the present time period. Both Hypotheses IIIB and IIIC must be rejected. There are no significant Gammas relating participation to the SASS score discrepancies between white and personal present, white and personal future, white and black present, or white and black future rankings. It would appear that the only reference group comparison associated with participation in the civil rights movement is that between self and blacks. Persons who see themselves relatively well off in the present when compared to blacks are most active across the board (although the relationship with the Active index is not statistically significant). Those who see themselves relatively well off in the future as compared to blacks are more active in Combative-type protest.

DISCUSSION

The object of this paper has been threefold. First, it attempted to ascertain whether relative deprivation contributed to participation in the civil rights movement. Second, it examined the relative predictive utility of several patterns of relative deprivation. Third, it evaluated the

utility of constructing a typology of protest activities in order to determine whether relative deprivation is differentially related to different types of activities. These objectives will be considered in the discussion presented below.

Personal aspirational deprivation, defined as the gap between achievement and aspirations, bears no relationship to participation. Group aspirational deprivation for the present temporal dimension produces participation in Combative activities and anticipated future deprivation produces participation in all activities. It is probably the case that blacks, regardless of personal achievement, are primarily defined by others in terms of their group identification. Thus, group rather than personal prospects may be the salient dimension for determining participation. Perhaps Gary Marx states it best.

> Recognition that the problems of Negroes are group problems, and that the rights and privileges of an individual depend in large measure upon the status of the group to which he belongs, is an important defining characteristic of the current civil rights movement, and those who have this perspective are much more likely to be militant than those who do not. (Marx, 1969:83)

Rising expectations, defined as perception of past progress, is not related to participation. Personal blocked aspirations, defined as expectation of little or no future progress, appears to be productive of only Passive-type activities and group blocked aspirations is not productive of any protest. Thus, progressive deprivation can not be related to protest participation as it was defined as the combination of rising expectations and blocked aspirations.

It may be the case that the pattern of progressive deprivation is only applicable to black protest activities occurring after the decline of the non-violent phase of the civil rights movement. Black power, riots and

urban guerrilla warfare may be a response to both the successes and failures of the civil rights movement. The movement may have stimulated elevated aspirations through its apparent successes. A combination of growing white resistance and the failure of the movement to effect drastic changes in the life situations of most blacks may have precipitated more discontent than had previously been felt. For a similar interpretation of the rise of black violence in the 1960's see Davies (1969), Geschwender (1968a, 1971:260-272), Singer et al (1970:97-102); Murphy and Watson (1969) empirically demonstrate a relationship between level of aspiration, perception of blockage and support for riot activity.

Reference group deprivation does not appear to be productive of participation. However, present reference group success, defined as self doing better than group, is productive of Passive and Combative activities and future reference group success is productive of Combative activities.

Thus, SASS comparison scores indicate that activists feel advantaged relative to their group but do not feel that either they personally or their group is deprived relative to whites. SASS status scores indicate that activists expect their group (blacks) to be deprived relative to aspirations. Runciman (1968) makes a similar kind of distinction between personal and group relative deprivation. One might be relatively advantaged where his own situation is involved but may feel that the relative position of his group is not what it should be. The combination of findings from the status and comparison scores re-emphasizes the role of perceived group deprivation rather than perceived personal deprivation in explaining civil rights participation.

Background Characteristics

Table 6 presents Gamma measures of association between participation

Table 6. Participation by Background Characteristics

Characteristic	Passive Index	Active Index	Combative Index	Total Index	N
Age[a]	.089[b]	-.385 (3.44)	-.389 (1.90)	-.247 (2.49)	145[c]
Female-Male	-.166	-.280 (2.25)	-.369 (1.91)	-.262 (2.30)	146
Work-Not Work[d]	.213	-.450 (3.19)	-.476 (1.81)	-.213 (1.70)	149
Father's Occupation[e]	.050	-.121	-.229	-.073	124
Blue-White Collar	-.147	-.179	-.255	-.177	98
Non Farm-Farm	.239	-.065	-.200	.027	124
Father's Education[f]	-.118	.256 (2.82)	.207	.145 (1.78)	136
School Year[g]	.035	-.517 (3.34)	-.360	-.354 (2.46)	63
Lower Classmen-Upper Classmen	.382	.459	.746	.293	26
Undergraduate-Graduate	-.028	-.635 (3.51)	-.621 (1.94)	-.467 (2.76)	63

[a]Age has three categories: under 25, 25-34, 35 and over.

[b]Gamma Measures of Association, computed on detailed breakdown of actual number of participations; z-scores reported in parantheses when significant at .05 level or beyond.

[c]Deviations from sample size (149) due to no responses on some items.

[d]Dichotomy between those with and without full-time jobs.

[e]Father's occupation has three categories: white collar, blue collar, farm.

[f]Father's education has four categories: 0-8 years, 9-11 years, 12 years, at least some college.

[g]School year has three categories: freshman-sophomore, junior-senior, graduate.

on the four indices and some selected background characteristics. These characteristics differentially relate to the four indices just as was the case for the relative deprivation measures. The low Gamma score suggests the lack of any relationship between age and participation on the Passive index. However, increasing age is associated with declining participation in activities included in the Active, Combative, and Total indices. It is interesting to note that age bears a curvilinear relationship to participation on the Passive index when mean number of participations is examined. Those over 35 are the most active, those under 25 the next most active, and those between 25 and 34 are the least active (means are 2.15, 1.72, and 1.57, respectively; only the difference between the over 35 and the 25-34 categories is significant, t = 2.05). An examination of the means for the other indices adds nothing to what is revealed by the Gammas.

The Gammas reveal that males are more active than females on all indices but the difference in participation rates for Passive-type protest is not significant. An examination of differences in mean number of participations by indices reveals exactly the same pattern. The Gammas presented in Table 6 and mean participation scores (not reported here) reveal the same relationship between full-time employment and participation in the civil rights movement. Persons employed full time tend to be more active in Passive-type protest (not statistically significant) and to have significantly lower participation rates for Active and Combative-type protest. There does not appear to be any significant relationship between father's occupation and participation on any of the indices whether measured by Gamma scores or by mean participation rates (not reported here). There is a slight non-significant tendency for persons of white-collar origin to be more active than those of blue collar origin regardless of the index

examined. There is a similar tendency for those of farm origin to be more active in Passive-type protest and to have lower participation rates in Active and Combative-type activities than either of the other two categories.

The Gamma scores indicate that increases in father's education are significantly related to increases in participation in Active-type protest and, as a result, also to increases in overall protest participation. No other Gamma achieves statistical significance. An examination of mean participation rates reveals the fact that persons whose father had between 9 and 11 years of schooling had the highest participation rate in Passive-type protest but the lowest participation rate in Combative-type protest.[4] However, the only statistically significant differences occur in comparison with children of high school graduates ($t = 2.00$) for the Passive index, with both children of high school graduates and fathers with at least some college ($t = 2.56$ and 1.98, respectively) for the Combative index.

The large number of respondents who failed to report year in school makes interpretation of the statistics relating class level to participation questionable. For what it's worth, there appears to be a tendency for upper classmen to be more active than lower classmen on all indices. None of the Gammas are statistically significant but the difference in mean participation rates in Combative-type protest (0.67 to 0.09) is significant ($t = 1.98$). There appears to be a tendency for graduate students to be significantly less active than undergraduates for all except Passive-type protest.

Profiles of Activists

The profile of those most active on the Passive index is that of an older student who is employed full time (mostly in a professional-technical

capacity). Their personal prospects regarding future progress are perceived as dim, although they see themselves doing better than blacks at present. The advanced age of the activists is consistent with their lack of anticipated future progress, and their occupational level is consistent with seeing themselves better off than blacks. If it is assumed that those employed in a professional-technical capacity are likely to be under white supervision, then it may also follow that this limits possible participation to money, membership and voter registration drives.

The profile of those with highest participation rates on the Active index somewhat resembles the profile of civil rights participants presented in the literature. They tend to be young, full-time students from relatively advantaged backgrounds as measured by father's education. However, they tend to resemble activists in Passive-type protest as both tend to be pessimistic about black future prospects. Lack of full-time employment permits both engaging in more time-consuming activities and activities unpopular with the white community.

The profile of those active on the Combative index is similar to that found for the Active index with the exception that father's educational level tends to be somewhat less for activists in Combative-type protest. Persons with highest participation rates tend to perceive black aspirational deprivation both at present and in the future, and tend to see self doing better than blacks both at present and in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

It may be concluded that the hypothesis predicting a relationship between relative deprivation and participation in the civil rights movement is supported. However, not all variations of the relative deprivation hypotheses are supported and relationships vary between participation indices.

Even those findings with the strongest empirical support should be interpreted with caution. Drawing a causal connection between participation and SASS measures may not be warranted as time order is not controlled. The assumption is made herein that perceptions indexed by SASS scores produce participation, rather than participation producing those perceptions. However, we must acknowledge that perception of relative deprivation may be either the cause or the result of protest participation, or that there may be a mutually reinforcing cyclical effect.

The time period in which the study was conducted probably mitigated against finding more, and stronger, relationships. By 1964-65 the non-violent protest movement had attracted widespread support from many segments of the black community. Initial differences between participants and non-participants may have diminished as individuals with divergent views and diverse objectives were attracted into the movement. If this is the case, then one would expect the sharpest distinctions to be found with those activities which had the lowest proportions participating.[5] This does, in fact, occur. Combative index activities both are more significantly associated with the independent variables and yield higher level Gammas when two or more indices are associated with the same variable. The acceptance of this interpretation suggests the desirability of constructing a typology of activities when analyzing participation in social movements which have developed a mass base.

Perhaps, the major contribution of this paper lies in the development of participation indices. It suggests research procedures that may have applicability to the study of other social movements. Social movements undergo changes over time in terms of goals, tactics utilized, the population base that contributes support, and the reactions of the wider society.

All of these variables influence participation. This suggests that research on the nature and cause of participation must control for such factors. A tool which permits the differentiation among types of participation activities may be useful for this task. If the widespread support of a movement masks the influence of those characteristics that initially drew persons to participate, it is possible that traits characterizing participants at an early stage may characterize only the most militant members at a later stage. The participation typology used in this study will not be generalizable to other social movements, but the principle of typological construction and the methods used herein are hopefully generalizable.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term "relative deprivation" is not always used so broadly. It is often limited to reference group deprivation which Gurr treats as a contributor to relative deprivation. One of the present authors has used it in the more limited sense in the past (see Geschwender, 1968a). However one chooses to lable it, there is a type of deprivation which arises from the comparison described by Gurr. As a matter of convenience, we shall use Gurr's terminology in this paper.

2. One possible explanation for this placement of sit-ins has to do with their origin and development as a tactic. Sit-ins developed very early in the course of the civil rights movement. Their spectacular nature lead to a very rapid spread of usage. As the civil rights movement aged many participants developed the belief that sit-ins were not the most effective use of personnel. They were fine for getting publicity, creating test cases, and creating martyrs. However, there is a limit to the number of test cases a movement needs and the number of martyrs a movement can afford. Hit-and-runs may easily be a more effective tactic on a cost-benefit basis. Hit-and-runs cause almost as much disruption to a business as sit-ins but at a much lower cost. Hit-and-runs simply cost a few participants a little time and energy and keep everyone out of jail where they can do the most good for the movement. Thus, it may be the case that hit-and-runs are actually more "Combative" in nature than the apparently more militant sit-ins.

3. This particular type of sample was chosen for analytic purposes. Previous research had found participation rates to vary by type of university, location of college, and student major (e.g., see Matthews and Prothro, 1966).

This type of sample allows us to compare differences when we have controlled for race, type of college, and location of college. We wished to be able to focus upon the effect of deprivation as measured by SASS. The more variables that could be controlled through homogeneity of the sample, the more the resulting variation could be pinpointed as resulting from deprivation.

4. The four categories were 0-8 years, 9-11 years, 12 years, and at least some college. Their respective mean participation rates on the Passive index were 1.82, 2.24, 1.70, and 1.64; on the Combative index they were 0.27, 0.06, 0.33, and 0.29.

5. Most members of the sample participated in at least one activity (91.2%). The proportions participating in at least one activity on the various indices are: Passive, 85.2 per cent; Active, 64.4 per cent; and Combative, 21.2 per cent.

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